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THE NATION New York Edition

"In our country we have Cadillacs that long"

Our fearless Veep, whom you will remember as the star of the prize TV drama of the 1952 elections, Dreadnaught Dick and the Padded Income, went on a world tour for the President to sell the Cadillac credo to the non-American world. Above he is shown telling Cambodians about free enterprise. For details on how he did there and elsewhere, see Kumar Goshal, below.

The job in 1954 for progressives

By C. B. Baldwin
Natl. Secy., Progressive Party

THE Progressive Party was launched in December, 1947, as a peace party in opposition to U.S. foreign policy. In the campaign thereafter, we brought this issue to the people so successfully that the Democratic Party, at its convention in August, 1948, was forced to adopt our domestic program almost in its entirety, and to promise talks with Moscow. The result was: 1) a small PP vote in 1948; but 2) a slowdown of the drive to war.

The smallness of our 1948 vote should not blind us to the importance of this latter achievement. The Democrats did not, of course, implement their campaign promises. Let's be clear about it: the achievement did not consist in their campaign demagogy, but in the fact that the millions who still believed in the peaceful coexistence charted by Roosevelt were given a means of making that belief felt. This demand for peace—first expressed in the popular response to Wallace's candidacy, later in the vote for the program taken over from us by the Democratic Party—forced the slowing of the war program.

It is necessary to understand the PP's role in 1948 to grasp the key role it can and must play today, when, in brief, we face this objective situation:

1. Bipartisan policies failing

• The bipartisan policy which scrapped Roosevelt's wartime agreements—essentially a program for big-power coexistence after the war—is failing on an almost colossal scale.

The PP predicted this failure five years ago. Every stand we have taken on the issue of peace has proved correct. Recognition of the bankruptcy of U.S. policy is now extending beyond progressive circles. A case in point is an article titled "Failure of Western Policies," in a symposium **NATO and**

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PEOPLE IN COLONIES vs. THE AMERICAN COLOSSUS: III

"U.S. interests have grown fat too long"

By Kumar Goshal

Four nose-flutists gently awoke Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh with their music today. . . .
—Reuters dispatch from Tonga, Dec. 20.

REPORTED in the style of 19th-century empire tours unrelated to today's conditions, the round-the-world travels of two Western potentates—Britain's Queen and U.S. Vice-President Nixon—have provided an ironic spectacle in the twilight era of imperialism. Save for the Dominions of Canada, New Zealand and Australia, now partners with the U.S. in "defense" treaties from which Britain is excluded, the outposts welcoming Elizabeth II were small or tiny islands. (Even in Ceylon, Left and Right parties jointly resolved to boycott her visit.) The spectacle of the kindly but unprofitable Tongans feeding roast pig to a cross-legged Queen-Empress could not but dramatize for the world the decline of history's greatest empire. The almost concurrent reports of Nixon "rubbing noses with a Maori tribesman in New Zealand' (N.Y. **Times**, 12/13) dramatized the U.S. attempt to build an even greater empire—indirectly controlled, which is equally effective and cheaper—often at the old one's expense.

The irony lies in this attempt being made at a time when sentiment for independence is almost or entirely beyond control in the colonial world.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"I'm sorry, darling, but I still don't see what they went to Bermuda for!"

BULLIES & BOGEYS: To hold that sentiment down, the U.S. is bullying those dependent on American largesse; trying to build armies of "native" mercenaries to fight its battles of conquest and consolidation; assuming the "mediator" role between its junior partners and their colonies, always with an eye to its own advantage. It uses the "communist" bogey to block progress in colonies, and camouflages economic exploitation with a humanitarian veneer.

In Indo-China, where French businessmen are rapidly being pushed out by American, Nixon bluntly told the French and their Indo-Chinese collaborators to continue fighting the popular Viet Minh forces, although desire for a negotiated settlement with the Viet Minh—which continually offers one—grows every day. What worries "American and other officials in Indo-China," **AP** explained (11/17), is that "an armistice without victory inevitably would allow the Communists to capture [Indo-China] by political means."

ASSORTED VASSALS: While wielding the big stick in economically retarded areas, Washington misses no opportunity to remind the W. European junior partners of their vassal status; U.S. imperialism stops at no "color line." Recently Britain's leading literary critic V. S. Pritchett referred to the U.S. as an imperialist power before an American audience. Asked from the floor what region in relation to the U.S. was comparable to pre-war India in relation to Britain, Pritchett answered: "Why, Europe, of course."

In UN, the U.S. has been rough with Israel and indifferent to Burma's protests against U.S.-aided Chiang troops ravaging part of that country. It has opposed the Asian-Arab-Latin American proposal for a UN fund to help carry non-self-liquidating projects in backward countries. The principles guiding it on colonial problems in UN have been those laid down by Henry A. Byroade, Asst. Secy. of State for Asian-African Affairs. Byroade, recognizing that "a sudden break in economic relations [between European nations and their colonies] might seriously injure the European economy upon which our Atlantic defense depends," warned that

". . . premature independence [of colonies] . . . would not serve the interest of the U.S., nor the interest of the free world as a whole" (**AP**, 10/31; **Peace News**, 11/13).

CHEAP BLOOD: U.S. plans for mercenary armies follow the old pattern of British use of Indian armies, French use of N. African. The **Wall St. Journal** (10/23), reporting on "20-year" plans to build European and Asian forces for "global defense," explained that in comparison with the cost of

". . . $250 million to maintain one U.S. division abroad, to keep up a French division would cost only $80 million, a British division $70 million, a Turkish division $30 million, a S.

(Continued on Page 6)

In France they learn their lessons well

While the French Parliament was working itself into a state over the election of a new President of the Republic, other citizens of France worried about other things. For example, these thousands of students, mostly members of the French Natl. Students Union, parked themselves outside the Natl. Assembly in Paris demonstrating against cuts in the education budget. The cops were called to keep traffic moving; it didn't for a long time.

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Heil!

DETROIT, MICH.

Hitler had his Brown Shirts. McCarthy has his Brownell Shirts.
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CHICAGO, ILL.

The Talmud says: "A dog gets the biggest publicity when he goes mad."
Jack Stepkorski

Un-pushy activities

MORENO HIGHLANDS, CALIF.

The Justice Dept. has refused to indict Joe McCarthy in light of his questionable financial manipulations; moreover, J. Edgar Hoover, FBI head, notes the Senator to be an "individual who is not going to be pushed around." At least, J. Edgar Hoover and the Justice Dept. refuse to push him around.
Collier Kerr

Wanted: a torrent

DES MOINES, IA.

The Gov. of California is sending out this letter to those who intercede for Wesley Robert Wells: "The Governor has read your sincere message and has asked me to tell you he has been informed that the attorney for Mr. Wells is again appealing to the courts. . . . Until the courts make a final decision, he has no jurisdiction in the matter."

This form letter does not indicate that he will do a thing to save Wells' life except if he receives a torrent of sincere messages calling for his intercession. The Governor should be reminded that he does have "jurisdiction" even before "the courts make a final decision," for he can propose to his Atty. Gen., Edwin Brown, that they withdraw their demand for Wells' life in view of many cogent considerations in the case.
W. B.

A mite for a life

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

After reading the story of Wesley Robert Wells, who spent six years among the living dead, told in his own way, I could not sleep tonight without sending out a widow's mite to help this man throw off the shackles, to make restitution to this man of determination for freedom.

Wesley, hold out a little bit longer. Your day must come. The scars on your body and the tortures of hell will serve as evidence against those so-called men who are drunk with power and hate. In the court of the world you charge genocide. Here's my buck to turn the tide.
Sadie A. Dobisch

How crazy can you get dept.

CAMEL DRIVERS VIEW NEW ADMIRAL SIGNBOARD

Outdoor advertising, a la Admiral Corp., has now posted the first sentinel on the 32-mile paved road running from Jedda to the Holy City of Mecca in Saudi Arabia. The board, which is viewed by camels, their riders, thirsty pedestrians and occasional auto drivers, is a 3x7 foot Scotch-lite sign displaying an open 2-door Admiral Dual-Temp refrigerator loaded with food.

From **Media Agencies Clients**, Dec. 21, 1953, (Weekly Advertising News), Beverly Hills, Cal.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: RDS, Los Angeles.

Thank you, Mr. President

BRONX, N. Y.

What do you suppose would happen if a correspondent at a Presidential press conference were to ask Mr. Eisenhower if he agreed with the founding fathers of our Republic that "taxation without representation is tyranny?" And if Mr. Eisenhower said he did agree, what do you suppose would happen if the correspondent then asked the President if he felt that this applied equally to Negroes as to whites; that if he agreed it did, wasn't it a fact that the over ten million Negroes in the South are deprived of representation in Congress but are required to pay taxes to the government, and accordingly are living under a tyranny.
L. Hartman

It's not so bad

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

I used to call the paper the "weekly bad news." It still is, but it is also a small light in the darkness. With the current madness in the air, the GUARDIAN is a weekly dose of sanity.

Very satisfied with the Buying Service which I have used several times.
Norma A. Ennis

Questions

FAIR GROVE, MO.

I need some advice. I want to be a Good American. Must I uphold the use of A and H bombs, poison gas and germ warfare, etc., against people who have never injured me or my country and don't intend to? Must I hate millions of people I never saw nor ever expect to see? Do I have to believe all the lies I hear or read? Am I un-American if I speak out my sincere opinion about these things? Does it make me disloyal if I disagree with those in authority?

Which is the better American: one who tries to keep the cold war stirred up and ease us into a suicidal hot war, which no nation can win and which will virtually depopulate most of the globe; or one who truly wants troubles settled by peaceful negotiation?

This is from one worried American. We have too many professional 100% patriots.
George T. Long

A mouthful!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have heard from many people that in the Soviet Union, people have to work or they don't eat; slave labor, they say. In the U.S.A., after you reach the age of 45 or 50, they won't let you work, so you can't eat. I say, who's crazy?
Ann T.

By permission of Punch, London
"Back to the old brain-washing again, I suppose."

From one American

CINCINNATI, O.

I don't know whether to call this a Christmas present or say it is some of the pledges I missed while in the hospital or out of work because of the Ohio UnAmerican Committee.

However, I want to be one of the first to make a 1954 pledge, and if the local GOP prosecutor is not successful in jailing me on his phony charge of contempt I will not miss any 1954 pledges.
Reuel Stanfield

A Third Party now?

BEULAH, COLO.

I love Marcantonio, always have. I want him to be back in Congress fearlessly attacking all that's wrong in this country and able to attack fearlessly because he is a member of a fearless party, not controlled by Big Business. So it looks like I agree with Marc and the GUARDIAN and Borough.

Then I think back to the Hitler days and how many times I asked myself, "How come the millions of German Socialists and Communists were unable to prevent the rise of Hitlerism?" And the only half way satisfactory answer I ever found was that they were unable to join hands to fight together on a common program to stop fascism.

And that stops me. We're not the same as Germany; an awful lot of things are different, but we are confronted with the same major problem—how to prevent fascism from coming to power. What can we learn from them? How can we be successful where they failed?

I look back on the period of the great coalition under Roosevelt of labor, progressives, liberals, New Dealers, Negro people, some farmers, small businessmen, etc., who managed to make some gains. Why or how it broke up I'm not going to try to answer, don't think I know enough—though I would set the day it started to disintegrate as the day third-choice Truman was accepted as nominee for Vice-President, and say that was accomplished because reaction was smarter and more alert than the coalition. Is that broad grouping, based on issues and interests, still there? Yes, I think it is. If it could form itself again into even the loose organization it was under FDR it could be powerful for peace and democracy. Will it be likely to reorganize itself around a third party? My common sense says it won't—it will be lucky to get together again under old and familiar auspices—and only then if the most alert and conscious people work hard to get it together on minimum issues.

Once it's going strong again, then perhaps a new party. But no small group can go faster than the great majority of people.
Mrs. Joan Thomson

Nothing to hide

LAKEWOOD, WASH.

Enclosed please find $3 to renew my subscription. I am 73 years old and on a small pension, so it took me some time to scrape together the $3. I like the GUARDIAN. It tells the truth and is on the poor man's side, and not hiding anything from the people.
C. J. Rose

The bulwark of our liberty

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, the guns of our war steamers, or the strength of our gallant and disciplined Army. These are not our reliance against a resumption of tyranny in our fair land. All of them may be turned against our liberties, without making us stronger or weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere. Destroy this spirit, and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage, and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of those around you, you have lost the genius of your own independence, and become the fit subject of the first cunning tyrant who rises. And let me tell you, all these things are prepared for you with the logic of history, if the elections shall promise that the next Dred Scott decision and all future decisions will be quietly acquiesced in by the people.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
September 11, 1858

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REPORT TO READERS

The key to guaranteed life for the Guardian in 1954

THE FIRST ITEM ON THE GUARDIAN AGENDA for 1954 is to guarantee publication throughout the year. This will require the co-operation of every reader. The key to the problem is the coupon at the top left-hand corner of this page. It proposes that you become a sustaining subscriber on a monthly payment basis for the year ahead. We of the GUARDIAN staff, and the many hundreds of readers who formed our "Buck of the Month" club to see us through '53, urge you to consider this easy and most effective means of making your contribution.

If you will search around amid your holiday mail, you will undoubtedly find a recent letter from the GUARDIAN containing a pledge card similar to the coupon on this page, and a postage-paid envelope for your reply. If you can't find the letter, or if you get your GUARDIAN other than by mail, please tear out the coupon on this page and let us have your reply as quickly as you can.

MANY of the people who have been responding to our letter have included comments like this:

"Thinking of paying $12 a year sounds like more than we could give, but at $1 a month during 1953 it has been so easy—and we have been so happy to have helped 'The Good Guardian'—that this year we are pledging $2 a month, and if later we can't make it, we can always drop back to $1. But we've gotta make it!"

Another $2-a-month couple said:

"You can keep us on the list indefinitely for this amount, '54, '55, '56 into '99 and beyond, if you remain true to progressive ideals."

For a lot of people, families with kids, pensioners and civil service workers, youngsters on starting salaries, anything more than the $3 subscription price is a real sacrifice—but judging by the responses, these are the GUARDIAN people who, by and large, are making the extra effort.

For others better off, $1 a month is a cinch, if you agree that the GUARDIAN deserves your sustaining help. It's $3 a day if you're a penny-saver; or in any case less than you are now spending each month to follow Ike's golf scores in your daily paper.

FOR THE GUARDIAN, as we've said before, your dollar a month is life blood. It sustains the paper the year 'round while enabling us to keep our price at a low level for new readership.

In this connection, our $1-for-six-months gift sub offer for the holiday period brought in a healthy round of new readers who will be getting the GUARDIAN for the first time with this issue.

One thing new readers will note very quickly is that the GUARDIAN gets along somehow without those notorious sponsors of the "free" commercial press, the big-business advertisers. The sponsors in our case are our own readers, who have been pulling us out of last ditches like Good Samaritans for the last five years and seeing to it that the paper has got into new hands week after week, far and wide throughout all 48 states and in practically every country abroad.

THE JOB of getting correct information to people through the U. S. press curtain is the single most vital job for American progressives this year if we are to trip up the McCarthyites and the "more bang for a buck" boys in '54.

To do our part in this job, the GUARDIAN needs first to be guaranteed in publication for the year—and in the absence of big angels, just you ordinary angels are hereby invited—nay, implored!—to help.

Take a new look at that coupon up there on the left, and see if you, too, can't afford to be a Guardian Angel for '54.

—THE EDITORS

A CHECKLIST OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE 83RD CONGRESS

Promise and performance: the record of the GOP up to date

Rep. Abraham Multer (D-N.Y.) has listed the Republicans' record since Jan. 20, 1953, compared with what they promised the voters during the campaign of 1952. The list, as printed in the Congressional Record, *follows:*

Promise: A balanced budget.

Performance: More unbalanced than when the Republicans took over.

Promise: Spend less.

Performance: Spent more with an increase in future fixed charges of government.

Promise: Reduce taxes.

Performance: Increased by extending taxes due to expire.

Promise: A stabilized economy by reduction of prices and cost of living.

Performance: Higher prices to the consumer, higher costs to the home buyer, higher rents to the tenant and lower prices to the farmer.

Promise: Reduce the national debt.

Performance: An attempt to increase it, prevented by an almost solid Democratic opposition in the Senate. It passed the House with 84 percent of the Republicans voting for it and 61 percent of the Democrats opposed.

Promise: A new foreign policy. Precisely what changes we were to expect we were never told.

Performance: Absolutely no change in policy. The change in Administration, however, is driving our friends and allies further and further away from us.

Promise: A new farm policy.

Performance: No change in policy. A

Labors Daily

"O CAPTAIN, MY CAPTAIN!"

change in Administration that has antagonized the farmer who has voted 10 to 1 to continue the old policy.

Promise: A new tax program.

Performance: None presented. The only change is the reduction in individual income taxes effective January 1954, pursuant to a law enacted by the last Democratic Congress and signed by the last Democratic President. However, Mr. Taxpayer, do not spend that saving. The next session of this Republican Congress may take it away from you. They are even now threatening us with a federal sales tax.

Promise: The Republican party promised to keep the Taft-Hartley labor law intact. The Republican candidate for President said he recognized its inequities and promised amendment.

Performance: No change in that law.

Promise: Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska.

Performance: Nothing.

Promise: A change in our permanent immigration laws to liberalize them and remove the inequities and unfairness thereof.

Performance: No change. The temporary Refugee Immigration Act to admit 217,000 immigrants over a 3-year period was part of the Democratic program and was enacted only because of Democratic support.

Promise: To conserve the natural resources of the nation.

Performance: Submerged oil lands given away. This was promised by the Republican candidate and he was supported by southern Democrats who campaigned for re-election on that pledge. Public power, TVA, AEC, and soil conservation programs gutted. Rubber plants ordered sold, RFC assets, including defense plants, ordered disposed of.

Promise: Encouragement and improvement of health and education programs.

Performance: Cutting the budget for these programs.

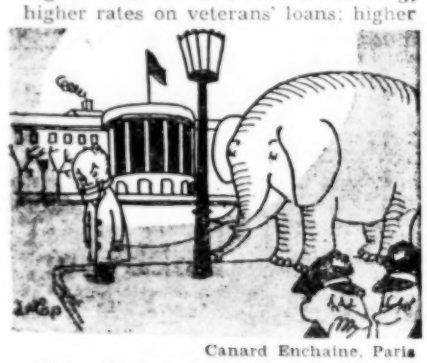
Promise: A comprehensive civil rights program.

Performance: Nothing.

Changes that we got even though not promised:

1. Hard money, that is, money that is harder to get.

2. Higher interest rates on government bonds, thus increasing the cost of government and the burden of the taxpayer; higher rates on mortgages; higher rates on consumer's financing; higher rates on veterans' loans; higher



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"More than a year old and still not housebroken yet."

rates on business loans; higher rates on state and municipal loans; higher rates on farmer's loans; higher rates on auto loans.

3. Depreciation of government bonds, some are selling as low as 92 cents on the dollar.

4. Destruction of the public-housing program.

5. Impairment of the morale of civil service employes by executive orders emaculating the merit system.

6. Decrease in veterans' benefits.

The job in 1954

(Continued from page 1)

World Peace (Annals, Amer. Acad. of Political & Social Science, July 1953), by D. F. Fleming, Vanderbilt University professor of international relations. Fleming lists among policies that have failed: "suppression of Bolshevism," "appeasing Fascism," and "containing Communism." Of this last he wrote:

> "At the best, containment offers the grim prospect of permanently holding an iron ring of air bases around the Communist world. At the worst, it means the grand smash that is inherent in every arms race. . . . Since neither prospect offers much hope, Secy. Dulles has advanced the policy of rolling back Communism both in E. Europe and China. . . . The rollback and disintegration idea is a natural response to the frustrations of containment, but it is a self defeating campaign . . . [pointing more] toward acceptance of police state methods for ourselves than toward liberation of Communist-ruled peoples . . . [and] toward an ever deepening commitment to subversive war that would merge in all-out lethal war. This is not a way to peace. It is a direct road to disaster for everyone. . . ."

Fleming urged—as have some other thoughtful Americans similarly concerned about U.S. national interests—"negotiating settlements," on the basis of mutual recognition of legitimate defense needs, as the only "positive policy that can succeed." The truth is that the bipartisan effort to continue mobilizing one-half of the world to make war on the other half directly jeopardizes U.S. national interests. As Fleming wrote: "For those who love the West, the very first principle is the avoidance of another world war."

2. McCarthyism is climatic

• McCarthyism has grown essentially as the necessary concomitant to the bankruptcy of this bipartisan policy.

Refusal to admit that this policy is unsound necessitates explaining its failures and defeats in terms of treason, conspiracy, spy-rings, etc. For example the U.S. tried and is still trying to stop the revolutions in Asia by military means. It failed, and will fail, since these revolutions are here to stay and cannot be stopped by military means. Washington could and should re-evaluate its position and policies in this light. McCarthyism takes the easy way, finding the explanation of failure in "Communists in the State Dept.," thus maintaining the delusion of an omnipotent U.S. able to impose its will on the rest of the world—if only "the traitors" are rooted out.

McCarthy has flourished—where his predecessors failed—because he has won growing support from big business, increasingly desperate as its policies meet defeat. Insofar as he has won popular support it is because of the climate generated by the futility, frustration, defeat of the Korean War. McCarthyism will grow so long as the bipartisans are permitted to continue the cold war (really, preparation for world war); for this policy grows more bankrupt by the day, and can only be maintained by repression and intimidation.

3. "War boom" is ending

• For 12 years a war economy has provided full employment, a semblance of prosperity. Many have not shared in the "prosperity"; in the cold-war era living standards for the majority have slowly declined. But there has been no mass unemployment, with its terrible suffering, since the eve of Pearl Harbor. **Today it is clear that the "war boom" is drawing to an end.**

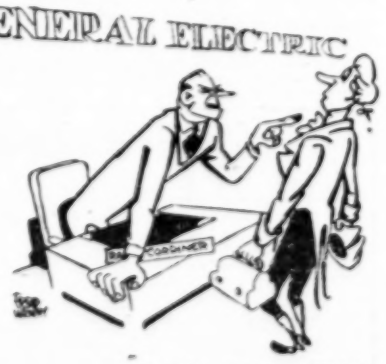
No one can predict when the economic crisis will break. There is no question, however, that it is maturing and the people are already feeling the pinch—farmers, workers beginning to be laid off, minorities which are always the hardest hit. A new situation is being created when people will have to fight for what they have. McCarthyism may become more dangerous in a recession when it will promise jobs, etc., then hold "the traitors" responsible for lack of them.

A situation in which a broad front can be born

The task before us is to force Washington to end the cold war; to take measures to alleviate the impact of the developing economic crisis on the people. In so doing we will defeat American fascism in McCarthyite or any guise.

To perform this job we need to estimate the situation correctly. The defeatism and confusion among progressives in the past two years basically arises, I believe, from faulty estimation of the dangers and strength of American fascism. Obviously the threat of fascism cannot be written off. But we should stop being mesmerized by the memory of Germany in the 1930's. We must understand the weaknesses of American fascism as well as its strength.

THE QUESTION OF ALLIES: On a world scale the forces behind American fascism are being defeated and weakened, and so rendered vulnerable to popular action at home if it is soundly led and organized. On a domestic scale, with all their control of press and propaganda, these forces have not managed to organize a tight centralized



Drawing by Fred Wright

"No, Tom Jefferson, we can't hire you . . . you wrote the fifth amendment!"

power. And as their attack against the Communists necessarily extends itself through McCarthyism to an attack on everybody short of the McCarthyites, resistance is rising; the front against McCarthyism, however rudimentary now, is broadening. This creates the possibility for mobilizing a broad front against developing fascism and the forces behind it.

One result of faulty estimation of American fascism may be a tendency to accept an ally, to look to any savior—say a Truman or a Stevenson—so long as he mouths criticism of McCarthy. This can only spread confusion in our own ranks and among the people we hope to win, since such men are accomplices of McCarthyism. To look to them for leadership is to undermine our primary educational task of showing the intimate relation between bipartisan foreign policy and McCarthyism.

THIRD PARTY'S ROLE: Yet this is not to assert that progressives can "go it alone." It is an axiom of politics that you start with people where they are, not where you are or would like them to be. It is obvious that the people are not at this time where we are, nor where we might like them to be. We must work with them where they are, without, however, ourselves retreating to that point or being deluded that they will spontaneously develop toward our position.

To change U.S. policy fundamentally, a realignment of American political forces is required. The idea that this realignment must await the building of a national third party is mistaken. We cannot exclude a third party, since the ultimate goal of the realignment is a real labor party, under whatever name; but neither can we condition all our efforts to it.

The notion that nothing can be accomplished until the realignment is achieved is also mistaken. We must use all the organizations and weapons at our command or potential command, not only to bring about this realignment but to force concrete steps now toward negotiations, against McCarthyism, etc.

There's no big contradiction between at one and the same time building and using independent political organizations and influencing the Democratic Party. In fact, the former is in the present situation necessary to the latter since it is clear that, unless the independent political organizations can force the Democratic Party to adopt a minimum program of negotiations, economic welfare, civil liberties—as it did in 1948—the people will have no voice in the 1954 elections.

A second article will develop this analysis.

How America looks from the golf-course

In this country, if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. He cannot hide behind the shadows, he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will inflict.

—President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Nov. 23, 1953.

WAR & PEACE

New Year sees lessening of world tension

Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris
"Let me see if it's properly phrased."

By Tabitha Petran

CHRISTMAS, 1953, found Western and Eastern capitals agreeing that world tensions had somewhat relaxed. Moscow Radio, noting that some Western governments had been "forced to heed the popular demand that the spirit of negotiation prevail over decisions based on force," said the world's peoples were closer to a "peaceful happy life" than at any time in recent years. Washington officials, said Stewart Alsop (N. Y. **Herald Tribune**, 12/25), had "'a feeling in their bones' that somehow against all the rules the world is going to avoid the ultimate agony of atomic war." In W. Europe the "greatest single factor" in the relaxation of tension was seen as "the 'peace offensive' of the Soviet Government" (N.Y. **Times**, 12/27).

Threats and emphasis on atomic strategy continued to come from Secy. Dulles and President Eisenhower, but reflected in part an effort to answer budget-balancers and tax-cutters. Eisenhower's announcement that two U.S. divisions (60,000 men) would be withdrawn from Korea, accompanied by a threat to carry the war to China if it is renewed in Korea, indicated a "new mobile strategy" geared to atomic weapons (**NYT**, 12/26). The move brought loud protests from Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek officials; the latter had two days earlier promised invasion of the mainland in 1954, an impossibility without huge U.S. naval and air power.

Labor's Daily
"Which comics do you want? The cartoons, or the editorial page?"

LAST CHANCE: Washington pressure on France to ratify the European Army continued, emphasizing U.S. air-atomic strategy with its inherent threat to make W. Europe the target of atomic-hydrogen war. Moscow's proposal that four-power talks on Germany be postponed till Jan. 25 or later (to allow France to form a government) seemed sure of acceptance. But Washington still viewed the coming Berlin conference "as an opportunity to 'expose the bankruptcy of Soviet foreign policy'" (Ned Russell, **NYHT**, 12/27), and seemed more determined than ever to resist genuine negotiations.

Yet genuine negotiations with Moscow offered what might be Washington's last opportunity to prevent a collapse of its European policy comparable to the collapse of its policy in Asia. The outlines of this collapse were dimly perceived by some U.S. commentators. In three articles on The French Crisis (12/24, 26), **NYT**'s Hanson Baldwin pointed out that recent events show

> ". . . it will be almost impossible to base any viable politico-military policy upon France as she is today . . . The crumbling of a cornerstone upon which all our military policies in Europe have been based confronts the West with nightmare choices."

ONLY DREAMS REMAIN: Baldwin concluded that whereas some military alternatives "not based on the assumption of a strong and stable France" were possible, the U.S. has no political alternatives to the European Army integrating W. Europe under W. German domination. The lack of alternatives was underlined by **NYHT**'s Walter Millis, who wrote (12/27) that Dulles' threat of an "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. policy "simply does not mean very much" since no idea has been developed of the lines on which policy revision might proceed. While obviously discarding the possibility of genuine settlements, Millis said that such talk

> ". . . can only lull [the American people] more deeply into their dreams of omnipotence; only conceal from them still further the fact that any basic reappraisal of our European policy is bound indeed to be agonizing to us and involve us in costs and losses and perils of staggering proportions."

FRENCH FERMENT: For France the European Army was already dead. The 13 ballots required to elect the new President (an unknown Senator, Rene Coty) reflected "a revolt against a foreign policy whose only justification, the fear that the Russians might one day march into France, has disappeared" (Alvarez del Vayo, **Nation**, 12/22). Pro-Russian sentiment was rising. On Dec. 10 some 10,000 Parisians including many prominent non-Communists attended a rally to celebrate the anniversary of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

French industrialists were reported collecting funds to fight the Schuman Plan and European unity. Pressures for ending the Indo-China war were sure to increase with news that Ho Chi Minh's popular forces had cut that country in two. **Newsweek** (12/28) summed up the "French state of mind" by quoting the remark of a prominent French lawyer, neither Communist nor neutralist:

> "The U.S. wants to achieve a German hegemony of Europe without any fighting. That is precisely everything I fought against in the last war. At that time I didn't ask somebody who was fighting with me in the Resistance whether he was a Communist or a Catholic. My country is in danger again today. We need all the help we can get."

SUICIDE IS UNPOPULAR: Faced with irresistible pressures countering its aims in Europe and Asia, Washington turned increasingly to the threat of atomic war to try to enforce these aims; but questions were being raised even by conservative U.S. commentators who see atomic-hydrogen destructive power as too great to achieve 'reasonable war objectives." In **Foreign Affairs** (1/54) Bernard Brodie wrote:

> "It is self-evident that national objectives in war cannot be consonant with national suicide. But for the future there is no use talking about an unrestricted mutual exchange of nuclear weapons as involving anything other than national suicide for both sides."

Millis (12/24) called the U.S. threat to use nuclear weapons if the Korean War is resumed "a dangerous principle to evoke." Complaining that "the war business has got completely out of hand," he urged "peacemakers of 1954" to start planning for "limited war."

Interlandi in Cleveland Plain Dealer
"Well, I'm glad the THIRD World War is over — now maybe we can have some peace!"

Supreme Court refuses to review Wells case

The U.S. Supreme Court last Oct. 19 refused to review the case of Robert Wesley Wells, 44-year-old California Negro facing death because he threw a cuspidor at a prison guard (GUARDIAN, 12/7). Last month the court refused to reconsider its rejection. Calif. Superior Court Judge Raymond T. Coughlin is expected to set a new execution date from 60 to 90 days after being officially notified of the high court's denial. Wells and his attorneys agree that the focus of his case (appeals for clemency) must henceforth be Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, Sacramento, Calif. It is agreed also that the fight to save Wells is up to the people who have kept him alive since he entered the death house Aug. 29, 1947.

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America. GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.

The execution of Beria

THE U.S.S.R. announced, Dec. 24, the execution—following a six-day trial before the Supreme Court—of Lavrenti Beria, former Minister of Internal Affairs, and five associates. The trial was held in secret, as was that of Marshal Tukhachevsky in April, 1938—suggesting that now, as then, highly important and delicate questions affecting international relations were involved. What some of these may have been is suggested by U.S. press reports—unconfirmed, but of interest in the context—both before and after Beria's arrest last July 10:

• Dorothy Thompson (Washington **Star**, 1/20/53) on the arrest of the Soviet doctors:

> ". . . The U.S. and Britain do have effective intelligence agents behind the Iron Curtain. These agents knew almost to the day and place when and where the first atomic explosion would occur in the Soviet Union. From what sources did they get the information? None of the arrests indicates, I think, that the Kremlin is on the right track. If they ever find out, we predict they will be, to say the least, surprised."

• In an article about Beria already in type before his arrest (**Readers Digest**, 8/53), Andre Visson, former associate of intelligence chief Donovan, reported the Soviet Interior Minister as moving to seize "supreme power" in "a story of fantastic intrigue," which could lead to the crumbling of "the Soviet Empire."

• The Alsop brothers (7/3/53), also before his arrest, reported a series of moves by which Beria had tried to move to the top after Stalin's death, hinted that he had murdered Stalin.

• In the N.Y. **Daily News** (7/13/53), William Van Narvig asserted that Beria had met in Berlin in 1948 with U.S. Gen. Maxwell Taylor and "other U.S. military and political figures." During these meetings, he said, Beria had agreed to establish a personal dictatorship that would restrict Russia to her 1941 borders. He had "entered in collusion with counter-revolutionary elements" from E. Europe to return that area to capitalists, and "had supplied American and British intelligence with information on the progress or lack of progress on the Soviet atomic project."

"HATRED & DISCORD": The indictment of Beria and the Supreme Court's findings said he had betrayed the U.S.S.R., acting in the interests of foreign capital and attempting "to resuscitate remnants of bourgeois nationalist elements in the Union Republics, sow hatred and discord between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and primarily to undermine the friendship of the U.S.S.R. and the Great Russian people." In this connection, C. L. Sulzberger reported from Paris (N.Y. **Times**, 7/7):

> ". . . As recently as March 19, 1952, the Israeli Government itself seemed to be fairly well convinced that at a Cominform meeting . . . that month, anti-semitism was being sponsored by no less a personage than Deputy Premier Beria. . . ."

Disclosure of detailed charges against Beria seemed unlikely in the foreseeable future, leaving the field wide open for every sort of speculation based—according to source—on fancy or fact concerning the internal U.S.S.R. situation and Western attempts to undermine it. Beria's conviction and execution (the indictment said he served British Intelligence as far back as 1919, which could have offered Western agencies the chance to blackmail as well as bribe him) came the same month that Hungarian footballer Jozsef Bozsik reported that "a stranger" offered him $100,000 in London to "choose freedom." If that much is available for a Hungarian soccer right-half, what might be available to tempt the head of the Soviet police is beyond calculation.

NEW YORK EDITION

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Photo by Queensview Camera Club

THE PLAYGROUND AT QUEENSVIEW CO-OP

ARE YOU A "GENTEEL POOR"?

If you're thinking about a co-op . . .

SUPPOSE you have an income of $4,000 a year, a modest nest-egg of perhaps $2,000, and you have to find a place to raise a family in New York. You couldn't qualify for a low-income public housing project even if there were vacancies. The sum your budget allows for rent, $85 tops, can scarcely get you a railroad flat in the city. A house closer to Manhattan than Hempstead will probably cost $12,000 and require $3,000 down.

In this dilemma for the "genteel poor," co-operative housing sounds good. For some it has been so; for others it has been a pitfall.

GETTING TOGETHER: The theory is sound. A group of families get together; take advantage of the economies of mass-construction methods to build a group of houses or apartments; own it, and elect their own board of directors to run it. They make a down payment to begin construction, apply to a bank for a mortgage. The Federal Housing Administration sets 4½% as the maximum interest on a 40-year loan. Banks take no risk, since if FHA approves the deal it insures the loan.

(Attempts have been made to have FHA set up an agency to lend money to co-operatives, but the President's Housing Advisory Committee in its Dec. 16 report suggested only "a careful study.")

SAVING ON RENT: Co-operatives have been built by organizations—unions, veterans, consumer groups; but actually any five families can organize one, though housing experts recommend 50 apartments as the smallest practical number for genuine cost-cutting. A well-built, two-bedroom apartment should cost about $10,000. The down payment varies widely, depending on the set-up. FHA allows a 90% mortgage, though few banks may give as much. A 20% down payment is usual. "Maintenance charges," which the co-operator regards as monthly rent, are from $80-$90.

If the co-operative is well-built and on the level, the apartment will probably be far better than anything you can get for $110 a month. The down payment is an investment. Whether or not you get your money back when you want to sell depends on the co-op. (Some guarantee it; on others there is the same risk as in any property purchase.)

DUMMIES & GIMMICKS: In most New York co-ops the practice has not measured up to the theory. Early in the co-op boom, private builders saw in it a good thing. Most of the city's 50-odd co-ops were set up by builders who sent dummy co-operators (often firm representatives or their relatives) to appy for FHA assistance. Then the builders ran large ads promising home-hunters they can "live luxuriously at low cost" in "non-profit FHA-sponsored" apartments. Maintenance charges and down payments cited are always over-optimistic and hedged in small type to allow for underestimation. The projects are thrown up fast and

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

BLUEPRINT OF THE NEW CITY ADMINISTRATION

Wagner choices forecast witch-hunt; political hacks stay; DeSapio moves in

By Elmer Bendiner

BETWEEN Election Day and New Year's Day Robert F. Wagner Jr. gave so many indications of the course his administration would take that it amounted to a blueprint.

The big press which had opposed Wagner in the elections (most backed Riegelman, the **Post** wanted Halley) found the blueprint reassuring. The **Daily Mirror**, echoing the **Herald Tribune** and **Times**, said: "Wagner, it seems to us, has been making good and well-studied appointments."

Grimly forecasting a rough road for civil liberties in the city were two appointments: for Commr. of Investigations, Peter Campbell Brown, former chairman of the federal Subversive Activities Control Board; for Police Commr., Francis W. H. Adams, N. Y. Bar Assn. attorney assigned to press disbarment proceedings against Harry Sacher and Abraham Isserman, defense attorneys for the 13 Communist Party leaders convicted in the first Smith Act trial.

WITCH-HUNT AHEAD: Adams, a former U.S. Attorney, had undertaken such jobs before. In 1937-38 he was attorney for a Councilmanic committee trying to unseat then Councilman Michael Quill from the Council. (In that case Sacher defended Quill; Quill is now a Wagner supporter.)

Adams and Brown fit into the projected witch-hunt against civil employes, stymied until Jan. 13 by an injunction won by the AFL State, County & Municipal Employes Union.

Labor had three significant tips on the new administration: (1) In the newspaper strike Wagner had urged the photo-engravers to accept the company's arbitration demand. (2) On the waterfront Wagner supported Dewey's regimentation scheme. (3) When the CIO Transit Workers threatened a New Year's Day strike, Wagner wired the union a strike was "intolerable," was credited with persuading both the TWU and the Transit Authority to

FRANCIS W. H. ADAMS
The top cop

agree on a "fact-finding" formula.

ASK TOM: To city employes, including teachers, Wagner held out hope, but with a string attached. He proposed an across-the-board pay increase averaging about $350 each, less than half the sum required to meet the rise in the cost of living, $250 less than the raise asked by trade unions in the field.

The catch was that all money sources were confined to Albany, subject to an expected GOP veto. If the veto came through it would make Democratic votes in the 1954 elections. It would also offer Wagner a useful alibi should tougher taxes become necessary.

For tenants, Wagner offered to seek housing aid from Washington and Albany. He ignored the local revenue source capable of meeting much of the city's needs; the officially-sanctioned tax evasions of big property owners. The American Labor Party throughout the election campaign pointed out that many of Manhattan's biggest buildings, increasingly profitable, were taxed at 1932 evaluations.

SALES TAX STAYS: Wagner brought little New Year's cheer to the taxpayer. He asked Albany for authority to increase real estate taxes by .05%, but that would fall as heavily on small homeowners as on commercial landlords. He said the sales tax was to stay. Though he made no plans to impose the payroll tax he had earlier advocated, some feared the blow would come when Albany turns down the city's request for increased revenue and the Mayor can plead that his hand was forced by Dewey.

Straphangers pondered the statements of Wagner supporters that there was no contradiction between candidate Wagner's disapproval of the fare rise to 15c and Mayor Wagner's expected approval of a fare rise on private bus lines of 2-3c.

On school witch-hunts and the rise in telephone rates Wagner was silent.

EVEN ALARMING: Those who had fought for minority representation were also disturbed by his failure to appoint any Negroes or Puerto Ricans to the City Hall staff.

Wagner's appointments in

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

THE WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

Old ILA wins dock election; 4,045 votes contested; Dewey joins press to nullify vote, bog contract

FOR months politicians, labor leaders, reformers, lawyers, clergymen and policemen had had their say about longshore labor. On Dec. 22-23 the N.Y. port's longshoremen spoke up. Ever since, there has been a concerted effort to suppress, nullify or apologize for what the longshoremen said.

The Natl. Labor Relations Board held a port-wide election offering them three choices: the old ILA, the AFL-ILA or no union. It had been comparatively quiet, considering the hot tempers; the issues at stake (longshoremen face harsh government regimentation); the turbulent past, and the strong-arm men on both sides. Only three dockers were stabbed, one was beaten over the head, another had his nose broken. Of the port's 24,000 workers, 21,244 voted.

The tally: ILA, 9,060; AFL-ILA, 7,568; challenged ballots, 4,405; void, 116; no union, 95.

CHALLENGED VOTES: First reports described the vote as too close to be conclusive. But Board officials said "well over 75%" of the 4,045 contested ballots had been cast for the independent ILA and challenged by the AFL-ILA on grounds of residence or length of working service on the docks. It was plain that the fate of the 4,045 ballots could only determine the lead by which the ILA won; it couldn't wipe out the victory.

On Friday the AFL conceded the victory, but AFL pres. George Meany announced he would protest the election because of "intimidation and violence by known criminals to a degree without precedent in a representation election."

TOO TOUGH: Rarely is the waterfront without intimidation but in this election the longshoremen could feel it on all sides. The old-fashioned gunmen of the ILA were matched by characters almost as tough on the staffs of the Teamsters and Seafarers' Intl. Union, spearheading the AFL drive. In addition there was the new and perhaps more telling intimidation of warnings by government agencies and all the ordinarily anti-labor press that the longshoremen had better vote AFL to avoid suspicion of crime, more investigation, tighter regimentation.

Nevertheless, the AFL, citing the three stabbings and lesser casualties of the voting, proceeded to tie up the longshore-

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

SAVE US A SAMBA,

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at the Guardian's

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Thursday, Feb. 11

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How they're licking jim crow on Washington Heights

The key is unity

THIS IS AN
FEPC
ESTABLISHMENT
We pledge our support to the Fair Employment Practices Committee in its efforts to end discrimination in our community in hiring and in other dealings with the public.
UNITY IS THE KEY IN OUR COMMUNITY

MRS. MAE ATKINS, of 537 W. 149th St., stopped to do her shopping on the way home from work one summer day in 1951. At the U. S. Meat Market, 1786 Amsterdam Av., around the corner from her house, she was struck by a sight very familiar but suddenly shocking: most of the customers were Negro; all five butchers behind the counter were white.

She asked the cashier why and got a brush-off. Mrs. Atkins, a gentle Georgia-born Negro woman with enough to do at her job in a garment factory, is capable of flaring anger and sustained action. She talked to her neighbors. The talk produced leaflets, a picket line and the Community Fair Employment Practices Committee.

By Sept., 1951, the CFEPC had its own paper, the **Key**, and a slogan: "Unity is the key to our community." The first issue's editorial called for an end to the "separation of Negro and white people—all Negroes on one side of the counter, buying, and all whites on the other side, selling." The paper said it wanted no white butchers fired, just some Negroes hired.

AND SOME MEN: The grassroots FEPC movement caught on, rallied to its support the St. Augustine Baptist Church, the American Labor Party, Greater N. Y. Negro Labor Council, the Community School Improvement Committee, the Civil Rights Congress, hundreds of women affiliated nowhere—and some men. The organization took form, named Mrs. Atkins chairman, Mrs. Ruth Goldworth, a white woman, corresponding secy.

In mid-October the U. S. Meat Market hired a Negro butcher. The **Key's** second issue listed 10 neighborhood shops which met the CFEPC requirements. Each of them received a poster which they display in windows like a certificate of health.

Mrs. Atkins delightedly told the GUARDIAN how jim crow flew the coop: "Negroes were appearing as clerks, cashiers and saleswomen throughout the community. And not one white worker got fired."

THE BEGINNING: The neighborhood brought other problems to the committee: high rents, low wages, hate summed up in symbols like Confederate flags on sale. Mrs. Atkins listed these sample victories in the committee's record:

- Forced the owners of the 7-story rooming house at 3609 Broadway to withdraw a 15% rent increase it had levied on 500 tenants.
- Picketed the Gold Star Fruit & Vegetable Market, 3403 Broadway, until the owners paid Sixto Ortiz a living wage (he had been receiving 50c a day).
- Won $225 in back pay for school boy Bruce Kenny whom John's Market, 3626 Broadway, had been paying 20c an hour.

THE KEY IS ACTION: All told, the CFEPC has won $1,800 in back pay for Negro and Puerto Rican workers—not in court, but through mass protest by Negro and white. It forced local Woolworth stores to stop selling Confederate caps and Whelan's to drop "hook nosed" masks regarded as anti-Semitic; fought movie showings of **Oliver Twist** and the **Desert Fox**; made a large, privately-owned hospital admit a Negro patient whom it had tried to refer to Harlem Hospital.

When the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore was bombed in Florida the committee handed out 10,000 "boycott" leaflets and sale of Florida fruits in the neighborhood slumped drastically.

When New York University student Enus Christiani was killed, after he protested the use on a dart board of a drawing suspiciously resembling a Negro woman, the committee joined with NYU's NAACP youth chapter in exposing the murder. Christiani had been the committee's recording secy.

RESISTANCE: White people have joined in many of the fights and some of the victories were scored in predominantly white sections. But for the most part businessmen have fought every advance the committee made and frequently summoned the committee to court. Mrs. Atkins smilingly commented: "We don't even have a lawyer among our members." The committee confined its court battles to winning postponements. The real fight went on in picket lines and leaflets. The businessmen soon withdrew the summons.

The committee, now planning a "Fair Employment Shopping Guide," continues to hold its own sector in a many-fronted battle. Mrs. Atkins, a slightly built little dynamo, outwardly composed, only seven years out of the South, gave the committee's formula:

"We're organized to fight instead of just talk—90% of our time fighting and only about 10% talking."

prize modern

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ Friday Eve., Jan. 8—8:30 ★
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Questions & Discussion

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CAPT. BRADLEY and JOHN L. LEWIS
Will the old ILA come into the UMW?

Waterfront

(Continued from Page N.Y. 1)

men with objections to courts and boards. That legal tactic could win favor with officials but was likely to cost the AFL any hope of ultimate strength on the waterfront. Not only was the AFL seeking to nullify the dockers' vote, but by delaying certification it would hold up negotiations for a new contract which could mean a 25c-hourly raise, a guaranteed 8-hour work day and improved working rules.

DEWEY RAMPANT: The allies each side gathered were also significant to the longshoremen. John L. Lewis had come out flatly for the independent ILA and there was a prospect of affiliation with his United Mine Workers. On the other hand Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the Waterfront Commission and the daily newspapers backed the AFL-ILA as few but company unions have ever been backed.

Gov. Dewey took the lead last week in the drive to nullify the vote. He joined the AFL in assailing the NLRB, called for reports from the police, the State Mediation Board and the Waterfront Commission on the conduct of the elections. (The AFL said it would use the Governor's material in drafting its own charges.) Dewey made his objective clear: prevent or postpone any official announcement of who won, which would then make certification the next step.

HOLD THAT SNAIL: The Board was proceeding at a snail's pace as it was. (One week after the election not a single disputed ballot had yet been ruled on.) The Governor thought it was exceeding all

MITCHELL SALUTES 1953 LABOR FRONT

N. Y. Times, Dec. 28, 1953
SIEG HEIL!

speed limits, stood ready with a bludgeon to slow it down. He dropped hints in the press of possible Washington action. One threat was that Sen. Ives (R-N.Y.) might call for a Senate investigation of the NLRB panel.

The **Times** (12/29) commented: "The Dewey intervention, coupled with the strategy to be followed by the American Federation of Labor . . . raised a strong possibility that no one would ever know" who won.

"WE FEEL FREE": The old ILA, feeling the strength of rank-and-file support and the backing of Lewis, began to talk like a union. Pres. Capt. Wm. V. Bradley said: "We feel that we are free now to do anything we want to. We plan to fight right down the middle until we get a contract. If we have to strike, we strike, and if we have a strike you can be sure it will be a good one." (Usually the strike talk comes from below and is deeply deplored by ILA leadership.)

Bradley's airy treatment of Dewey-inspired inquiries also had more of Lewis in it than of Ryan. He met with Merlyn S. Pitzele, State Mediation Board chairman, but denied the Governor had any authority to intervene until after the NLRB had certified the winner. He said the Board "has the duty of conducting an election, counting ballots and issuing a certification."

He did modify his earlier tough talk in which he hinted at a strike on Jan. 2. After conferring with Pitzele he said the union would give the Mediation Board adequate notice before calling a walk-out.

BEHOLD THE MAN: Bradley showed a touch of the old Ryan in post-election comment when he warned dissidents in the union that there were "10,000 too many dock workers," implying that those who vote right have a better chance to work. He promised shipping companies a "no-strike" clause in the contract that would end "quickies." He said the ILA would clean up "whatever abuses exist," spoke glowingly of Lewis. Of Meany he said:

"This is the man who secretly agreed to the bi-state law [setting up the waterfront regimentation] rather than allow a free election. . . . This is the man who had the opportunity to work constructively on the waterfront but who never even tried. . . . This is the man who tried to deal secretly with us."

Wall Street Journal
"I've got to buy quite a few groceries . . . would it depress you to come along?"

CARMINE DeSAPIO
Well, where were we . . . ?

Wagner choices

(Continued from Page N.Y. 1)

general ranged from barely passable to alarming. His choice for city treasurer was George M. Bragalini, member of Carmine DeSapio's own Tammany club, the Tamawa, vice-president of the Manufacturers Trust Co. He retained in office Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy, whose contributions have been mainly a witch-hunt and economy drive.

Holdover commissioners from the Impellitteri administration include: Markets, Anthony Masciarelli; Licenses, Edward T. McCaffrey; Public Works, Frederick H. Zurmuhlen; Traffic, T. T. Wiley; Air Pollution Control, Dr. Leonard Greenberg.

Vincent A. G. O'Connor was moved from Dist. Atty. Frank Hogan's office to head Marine and Aviation. Two Wagner campaign staff members, Warren Moscow and Nelson Seitel, were appointed assistants to the Mayor.

Shortly after election Wagner announced that all inner party matters, presumably including patronage, would be managed by Tammany leader DeSapio, who apparently has moved into City Hall well ahead of the New Year.

Give This Paper To A Friend Keep It Moving!

OUR FREE PRESS

3 papers bar ad for trial of McCarthy

THREE New York newspapers (**Times, Herald Tribune** and **Post**) have refused to accept paid ads for the "Public Trial of Senator McCarthy" to be held at 7:30 p.m., Wed., Jan. 6, at St. Nicholas Arena, 66th St. & B'way. Walter Winchell in his Dec. 27 broadcast called it to the attention of incoming police Commr. Francis W. H. Adams.

Victor Rabinowitz, counsel for many witnesses at the Ft. Monmouth, N. J., investigation, will report on the Senator's conduct there, according to the Trade Union Veterans Comm., which is sponsoring the trial.

Blood brothers

KENNETH McCALEB, editor of the **Daily Mirror's** Sunday magazine, was decorated with the Order of Trujillo. The distinction has been conferred on few North Americans by the regime in the Dominican Republic, noted as the bloodiest tyranny in the Caribbean.

The Dominican Ambassador said it was for McCaleb's distinguished journalistic services to his country. McCaleb, receiving the award, said that ex-President Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo had been first to warn the late President Roosevelt that Soviet trading organizations like Amtorg were "infiltrating" Latin America.

RESORTS

Ridgefield RESORT
— Interracial —
MID-WINTER VACATION
All Seasonal Sports
Arts and Crafts
70-acre estate for crisp walking beautiful countryside, famous food, fine accommodations and restful atmosphere.
Special Rates for Groups for the month of January
Write or phone for reservations
80 5th Av., Rm. 801 (c/o Fine)
Phone: ALgonquin 5-6268

CAMP MIDVALE
Midvale, N.J. TErhune 5-2160
Cooperative, interracial camp
OPEN EVERY WEEKEND
JAN. 30-31:
WINTER SPORTS FESTIVAL
Entertainment — Skating
Folk Dancing
Special attraction: The Puppeteers in The Adventures of Wee & Uss, & The Spaceship Named Brotherhood.
Organized Children's Programs

JACK SCHWARTZ'S
ALLABEN HOTEL
in LAKEWOOD
FOR A DELIGHTFUL XMAS & NEW YEAR VACATION
Completely renovated
ICE SKATING ON OUR RINK
501 Monmouth Av., Lakewood, N. J. LAkewood 6-0819 - 1222

★

Use old Guardians to win new friends. Simply send them out in an open end wrapper with a two-cent stamp. They'll pay dividends every time.

About co-ops

(Continued from Page N.Y. 1)

as cheaply as possible, then unloaded on the co-operators, the builders thereby ducking further responsibility.

In the case of one Queens co-operative, the ads called for only $105 down (among the lowest) and estimated maintenance charges of $72 a month including utilities for a 3½-room apartment, $89.90 for four rooms. Shortly after the co-operators moved in, maintenance costs zoomed and four-room apartments were running over $100 a month. At that, the rain came through the walls in at least one apartment.

EXTRA TAXES: Those who join in co-operatives under Section 213 of the Natl. Housing Act have opponents often as tough as landlords. One reason that the maintenance costs in Queens co-ops soared so quickly lay in tax discrimination. Private homes in the co-op's area were being taxed on estimates of 60% of the cost. The co-op, classed unreasonably as business property, was taxed on 81% of its cost. Owner of a 4½-room apartment in the co-op, valued at $9,000, paid $262 a year in taxes, $100 more than on a house of the same value.

Demonstrators from seven co-ops, housing 6,532 families, lobbied at City Hall last August and won a reduction of 11.5-16% on their 1953-54 taxes. At tax time next March the fight is certain to be taken up by others. A very few co-ops receive limited tax exemption.

AMATEURS BEWARE: The "non-profit" note in co-op ads is too often a come-on. Builders who launch buildings with dummy co-operators generally make a profit on construction considerably higher than the 5% sanctioned by FHA. Most builders hang on to the land and collect rent from the co-operative. The dummy board set up by the builders usually signs up a high-priced manager in a long-term contract with which the co-operators are stuck. Often the builders keep part of the land (purchased at cut-rates for co-operative housing) to put up private apartment houses.

Housing co-operators' big problem is that they are amateurs in a field where skilled professionals have mastered all the angles for milking money out of housing. FHA regards the bank that lends the money, not the individual investor, as its client. Its aim is fast housing; its construction standards are flexible. Washington used to keep a watchdog (never very vigilant) as Co-operative Housing Commissioner, but Congress last year abolished the post when it virtually ended federal public housing. Co-ops are now under FHA's rental housing division.

HELP AVAILABLE: The amateurs can now find professional help. Two non-profit Foundations—United Housing (345 E. 46th St.) and Co-operative Housing (8 W. 47th St.)—are set up to advise co-operators on all phases: finding a site, building, incorporating, and on genuine existing co-ops where house-hunters may apply. For those with enough money and time, they supply the know-how that can make co-operative housing a solution for some. Before them are a few pictures of successful co-operative living, such as in Long Island City's Queensview where families have not only their apartments but a nursery school, after-school activities, a teen-age club, hobby and educational programs for adults.

Queensview fulfilled another promise of co-ops: it not only called itself non-discriminatory, but sought and secured Negro tenants by ads in the Negro press. Except for Merrick Park Gardens, almost all Negro, very few of the "213" projects are genuinely interracial. Some builders use the come-on "Choose your own neighbors," which in most cases means that the dummy board does the screening.

Movie Suggestions

Special

BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. **It Happened One Night** (reissue), C. Colbert & C. Gable. 8:15 p.m., Tues., Jan. 5. $1.

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. **"The Movies & How They Grew"** Charlie Chaplin film's one immortal: "His New Job," lampoon of Hollywood & 3 other shorts. Jan. 1-3.

INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS: **Soviet Union on Film,** 3-day festival, Jan. 8-10. $1.25, members $1.

Fri., Jan. 8, 8:30 & 10:30 p.m. Adventure in Bokhara (dir. Protosanov, 1943), **The Lower Depths, Ulanova & Conditioned Reflexes** (Pavlov experiments) shorts.

Sat., Jan. 9, 11 a.m. Children's program (see Children's Films).

Sat., Jan. 9, 3 p.m. Ivan the Terrible (Eisenstein, 1944) & **They See Again & High Hill,** shorts.

Sat., Jan. 9, 8:30 & 10 p.m. Peter the Great (dir. Vladin Petrov, 1937), **Moscow Sports Stadium & Bayaderka Ballet** shorts.

Sun., Jan. 10, 3 p.m. Shorts (dir. Dovjenko, 1939), folk art & cartoon shorts.

Sun., Jan. 10, 8:30 & 10 p.m. Lenin in October (dir. Michael Romm, 1937), **Moscow in Construction & Ballet and Folk Dances** shorts.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily. **The Mikado,** Kenny Baker & D'Oyly Carte Co. in 1935 G & S production. Dec. 28-Jan. 3. **Citizen Kane** (Orson Welles, 1941), Jan. 4-17. One show only, 3 p.m.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Train Goes East** (Russ.) & **Cleopatra** (Colbert reissue), Jan. 7-8.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Folly To Be Wise** (Br., Alistair Sim).

APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. **Beggar's Opera** (Br., Olivier), cont.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. **Folly To Be Wise** (Br.).

BEVERLY, 3d Av. & 50th St. **Band Wagon** (musical) & **Red Badge of Courage,** Jan. 2-5; **Little World of Don Camillo,** from Jan. 7.

BIJOU, 45th St. W. of B'way. **Gilbert and Sullivan** (Br.), cont., reserved seats.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 85th. **Don Camillo,** thru Jan. 2; **39 Steps** (reissue), Jan. 3-5; **Murder on Monday,** (Br.), Jan. 6-9.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **Beggar's Opera** (Br.), from Jan. 1.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Spice of Life** (Fr., Noel Noel) & **Pleasure Garden** (Br.), cont.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. **Lili,** cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. **Cruel Sea** (Br.), thru Jan. 7.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Murder on Monday & Nothing to Lose** (both Br.), Jan. 6-9.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Times Gone By** (It.), cont.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Beggar's Opera** (Br.) & **Prowlers of the Everglades,** from Jan. 1.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Heidi** (Swiss, Eng dubbed) & **White Mane,** cont.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Don Camillo,** Jan. 2-3.

NEW DYCKMAN, 207th St. nr. Sherman Av. **Beggar's Opera,** Jan. 3-6.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Little Fugitive** (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar,** cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. **Stage Door** (reissue with Hepburn, others), cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **Annapurna** (mtn.-climbing docum.), cont.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. **Roman Holiday,** Jan. 3-9.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Chuk and Gek** (2 Russ. boys in the Arctic, Venice '53 prize-winner), & **Daring Circus Youth,** (Moscow circus, color), cont.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.

SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th. **So Long at the Fair & Bedelia** (both Br.), Jan. 6-8.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **Fanfan the Tulip & Justice Is Done** (both Fr.), thru Jan. 6.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **American in Paris & Detective Story,** thru Jan. 2; **Justice Is Done** (Fr.) & **2 Weeks with Love,** Jan. 5-6; **Sea Around Us** (docum.) & **Night Without Stars** (Br.), Jan. 7-9.

YORKTOWN, B'way & 89th St. **Cruel Sea & Veils of Bagdad,** Jan. 2-5.

THE LITTLE FUGITIVE

Seven-year old Ritchie Andrusco stares in amazement at the sights of Coney Island in The Little Fugitive, *prize-winning film continues at the Normandie.*

Events for Children

Films

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. Russian films for children: **In the Circus Arena** & shorts. 11 a.m., Sat., Jan. 9. Kids 50c, adults 75c.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **The American Revolution & The Road to Television** (docum. films), Sat., Jan. 9 at 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

McMILLAN THEATER, Columbia University, B'way at 116th St. Walt Disney nature film, **Seal Island.** Sat., Jan. 16, at 2 p.m. Tickets available at McMillan Theatre on day of performance only. Advance tickets or information, call MO 3-5709 or MO 3-5212. 50c.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Films at 11 a.m., 2 p.m. & 4 p.m.

N. Y. HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Central Park W. at 77th St. **DOCUMENTARY FILMS: America the Beautiful; The River; New York — The Wonder City.** Jan. 9, 2 p.m. Free.

BROADWAY THEATRE, 1681 B'way. **Little Johnny Jet, Transatlantic Hop & Let's Ask Nostradamus,** Jan. 2-5; **Just Ducky, Tower of Destiny** (docum.), & **Football Roundup,** Jan 9-12.

85TH ST. TRANS-LUX, 85th & Madison. **Gallant Bess** & eight cartoons. Jan. 2.

Dance & Music

MUSICAL NEIGHBORS, Pitt St. Orchestra (Music School, 50-piece orchestra made up of children under 15 years), Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St., Sat., Jan. 16, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

SQUARE & FOLK DANCE: Dancing every second Saturday of the month. Folk sing. Amer. Youth Hostel, Metropolitan Council, 344 W. 36th St. Sat., Jan. 9, at 8:30 p.m. 75c for non-members.

STORY BOOK DANCES: The Indian Sun (Indian legend); **Sokar and the Crocodile** (from old Egypt); **The Lobster Quadrille** (wonderland). By the Henry St. Playhouse Dance Co. (adult dancers), YM-YWHA, Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lexington Av. Sun., Jna. 10, at 3:30 p.m. $1-$2. Half price rates for groups of 20 or more. TR 6-2366.

Miscellaneous

STORY HOURS: Brooklyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., Jan. 9, at 11:30 a.m. Museum of City of N. Y., Sat., Jan. 16, at 2 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Sat., Jan. 9. Live Animal Program, 1:15 p.m.; Science Demonst., 2:30 p.m.; Planetarium Demonst., 3:30 p.m.; Cultural History Demonst., 3:30 p.m.

NEW DOUBLE FEATURE PROGRAM!
"DARING CIRCUS YOUTH" IN SOVCOLOR ☆ "Chuk and Gek"
STANLEY 7th AVE. bet 42 & 41 STS.

Where to Go

Drama

MADAM, WILL YOU WALK, Sidney Howard's fantasy with Hume Cronyn & Jessica Tandy. Phoenix Theatre, 2d Av. & 12th St. 8:30 p.m. eves. except Mon., mats. Sat., Sun. $1.20-$3. AL 4-0525. Thru Jan. 10.

MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT, with Karen Morley & Tony Kraber, Brett Warren, dir. 8:30 p.m. Mon.-Thurs. Actor's Mobile Theatre, 430 6th Av. Reserv: GR 7-2430. Opens Tues., Jan. 12.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Presaman. Greenwich Mews Interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7645.

OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves., 8:40. $1.20-$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 78c-$1.30. TR 9-5480.

SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, by G. B. Shaw. Vaughn-James production, Davenport Theater, 138 E. 27th St. 8:45 nightly except Monday. $1-$3. Reserv: MU 4-9485.

Music

JACOB SCHAEVER. Annual concert of works of Jewish composer with Schaefer-Peretz oratorio "Zwei Brider," Israel folk songs, conducted by Eugene Malek. Alice Richmond, Cantor Edgar Mills, soloists. Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus. Sat. eve., Jan. 9, Town Hall, 113 W. 43d St.

GERSHWIN FESTIVAL, soloists & orchestra. Sat. eve., Jan. 9, Hunter College, 69th St. & Park Av. $1.80-$4.80. RE 7-8490.

SZYMON GOLDBERG, violinist. 8:15 p.m., Sat., Jan 9, Washington Irving High School, Irving Pl. & 16th St. 75c. Peoples' Symphony Concerts, 32 Union Sq., Rm. 1202. GR 3-1391.

Plays

WAGON TRAILS, comedy by Characters Unlimited at the Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Sat., Jan. 9, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

RIP VAN WINKLE, Playmart Children's Theater at Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Jan. all month. Sats. at 1 & 2:45 p.m., Suns. 2:45 p.m. 75c to $1.20. CI 7-7640.

NOBODY'S RABBIT, Peggy Bridge Marionettes. LeRoy the Magician, variety acts, community sing. Academy of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl., B'klyn. Sat., Jan. 9 at 3 p.m. 75c. ST 3-6700.

LITTLE MEN, Junior Theater production. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Sats., Jan. 2, 9, 16, at 2:15 p.m. $1.20-$2.40. Less 20% for subscriptions for four shows or groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD, by Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan Duane, 201 W. 13th St., nr. 7th Av. Sats. thru Jan. at 3 p.m. Child audience participation. PL 7-6300.

RAPUNZEL AND THE WITCH, Children's World Theater. Stage play in three acts. B'klyn Acad. of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. Sat., Jan 16, at 3 p.m. 60c-$1.50. ST 3-6700.

Miscellaneous

LIFE IN BLOOM, Soviet classic film and discussion by Bernard Friedman on Minchurin-Lysenko biology in the Soviet Union. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Jan. 3, Jefferson School, 574 Av. of Americas. $1.

JOHN PETER ZENGER, pioneer fighter for a free press, exhibit of books, papers, etc. N. Y. Historical Soc., Central Pk. W. & 77th St. Opens Jan. 6.

AMERICAN PAINTING, 1754-1954. Includes furniture, glass photos, handicraft. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Av. & 82d St. Cont.

SCOTT NEARING, lecture series. No. I: "United States' Shadow Over Europe." 8:30 p.m., Thurs., Jan. 7, Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (14th St.) $2 for series of 4, $1 at door, 75c in advance from Monthly Review Assoc., 66 Barrow St.

Jefferson School
Sunday Forum
presents
MICHURIN-LYSENKO BIOLOGY IN THE SOVIET UNION
Speaker:
BERNARD FRIEDMAN
Maurice Wechsler, chairman
plus
FILM SHOWING
"LAND IN BLOOM"
unbelievably beautiful Soviet classic depicting science building a land of plenty.
SUN., JAN. 3 8:30 p.m.
Sub $1
JEFFERSON SCHOOL
575 Av. of Americas (cor. 16 St.)

THE THEATER

'The Simpleton' by G. B. Shaw

IN his later years George Bernard Shaw indulged in something he had always wanted to do: a fantasy on Judgment Day. **The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles,** written in 1935, is revived in a restrained but colorful production at the Davenport Theater to run through Jan. 24.

"With amateur inquisitions at work in all directions," Shaw wrote in the preface, the world must decide whether a person is "a creator of social values or a parasitical consumer and destroyer of them." In the play's Judgment scene, those who do not produce, including his symbols of Love, Pride and Patriotism cease to exist.

Spoofing national chauvinism, "bourgeois" ideas on marriage and race, the Church, the Empire, the press and the unequivocal attitude of the British Navy, Shaw provides admirers of his earlier witty exaggerations of reality with enjoyable verbal fireworks. The audience is advised not to worry about the extremely complicated allegory, which involves the world, represented by the Unexpected Isles, the "marriage of East and West," and the Simpleton, who is a visiting clergyman.

Ione Kramer

THE SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, by G. B. Shaw, produced by Ross Vaughn and Alan James. Davenport Theater, 27th St. & Lexington Av.

The Movies & How They Grew
JAN. 1-3; CHARLIE CHAPLIN
in a selection of fresh two-reelers including, "His New Job" (a lampoon of Hollywood) & "The Knockout," with Fatty Arbuckle.
Shows at 8:30 & 10 p.m.
Fri., Sat. & Sun.
Members, $1; Non-Members $1.25
CLUB CINEMA 430 6th Av. Nr. 9th St.

ACTOR'S MOBILE THEATRE
presents
The Madwoman of Chaillot
with
KAREN MORLEY and TONY KRABER
Directed by BRETT WARREN
Opening TUES., JAN. 12th at 430 Av. of Americas (10th St.)
Performances Mon. thru Thurs., 8:30 p.m. Sun at 2:40
For Reservations & Theatre Parties call GR 7-2430

Trial of Sen. Joseph McCarthy

THE PEOPLE of the UNITED STATES vs. SEN. McCARTHY

The indictment of Senator Joseph McCarthy for violation of U.S. Criminal Code Title 18—Section 608; Section 202; Section 205; Section 241 and Section 953; Will Be Heard in the Court of Public Opinion Before the Honorable People of New York.

WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION

DR. ALPHEUS HUNTON
JULIUS EMSPAK
REV. WM. H. MELISH
ROCKWELL KENT
JAMES ARONSON
BEN GOLD
LESTER COLE
HOWARD FAST
ABRAM FLAXER
MRS. E. ROBESON
ALBERT KAHN
LOU SPINDELL
DR. MELBA PHILLIPS
CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

Chief Prosecution Counsel—FRANK SERRI
Former President Kings County Criminal Court Bar Association
Associate Prosecution Counsel—RUSS NIXON
Former Director of Division for Investigation of Nazi Cartels

WED., JAN 6—7:30 p.m. ST. NICHOLAS ARENA
No reserved sections 66th St. & B'way
Admission 75c (tax incl.)
Tickets Can Be Obtained From Union Offices
Ausp: Trade Union Veterans Committee, 175 Fifth Av., N. Y. C.

THE SHADOW OF FRANCO'S REVENGE OVER AN AMERICAN FAMILY

Will they send Manuel Cuevas Diaz to Spain?

MANUEL CUEVAS DIAZ Jr., nearly 5 and better known as Cookie, sang jingle bells and lisped "Merry Christmas" in a combination of Spanish and English. The small apartment behind the freshly-ironed curtains on E. 107th St. was warm and cheery on Christmas Eve—as cheery as a home can be when the father is spending his second Christmas on Ellis Island.

"The boys [Manuel and Antonio, 6] don't remember what it was like to have him home for Christmas," said Mrs. Elba Cuevas Diaz. A beautiful and shy young woman, she was reluctant to discuss technicalities of the deportation—too much hangs in the balance in the next few weeks. The U.S. government wants to deport Manuel Cuevas Diaz to Franco Spain, where he faces certain persecution and possibly death.

HE CHOSE SIDES: During the Civil War Diaz' Spanish Navy ship, impressed by the fascists, was commandeered by the crew and fought on the side of the Loyalists. Fleeing Spain when Franco came to power, Diaz was interned in a Tunisian concentration camp, continued his fight against fascism as a marine captain with the Free French Navy and the Greek Merchant Marine. In 1944 and again in May, 1949, he was admitted to the U.S. as a seaman.

Mrs. Diaz, a U.S. citizen from Puerto Rico, had worked as an operator in the garment industry. Diaz sought to make permanent his status in the country where his children were born. The government would not permit him to remain, but he obtained its permission to leave voluntarily for Guatemala. As he was about to leave, in Sept., 1952, the Justice Dept. clapped him onto Ellis Island without bail, scheduled his departure for Spain.

THE BLOOD BARGAIN: Behind the deportation charge is the story of a changing U.S. policy toward Franco—the $62 million "import-export" loan to Spain in 1949; the increased pressure in 1952 for use of naval and air bases in Spain; the fight led by the U.S. that year for Spain's admittance to UNESCO; the additional $100 million foreign aid appropriation for Franco forced through the Senate by Sen. Pat McCarran in Sept., 1952 (the month Diaz was arrested); the $226 million aid-for-bases promised Spain in 1953-54.

THIS WAS THE SECOND CHRISTMAS WITHOUT FATHER
Antonio and Cookie Diaz before their tree in 1952

"As the U.S. sought to make friends with Franco, it started a conscious persecution of those who had fought him," says the Spanish-American Defense Comm., which is assisting in the Diaz case.

The Diaz boys' Christmas visit with their father was to be the same brief Saturday afternoon trip to Ellis Island which they have made for the last year and a half. "Cookie thinks his father is in the hospital, and I don't tell him otherwise," said Mrs. Diaz. There would be no presents for Father, but there would be a carefully-pasted construction paper card neatly lettered "Merry Christmas to Father" made by first-grader Tony. As she talked, Mrs. Diaz arranged little plaster animals on the cotton batting of a nativity scene beneath the Christmas tree. "My husband used to make this light up," she said, "but I don't know how."

SHE WOULDN'T ASK: "This," she said, indicating the tree, "and a few little things for the children are all the celebration we will have. The welfare gives you extra money for Christmas, but you have to ask for it, and I didn't want to."

The boys played noisily in front of the tree, apparently unaware of the problems facing their parents.

Manuel Diaz was scheduled to be deported to Spain Dec. 18. At the last minute an injunction was obtained calling on the government to show cause why he should not be allowed to go to Guatemala. Argument will be heard soon in Washington.

The Defense Comm. (23 W. 26th St.), which is collecting funds, has called for letters and telegrams to Atty. Gen. Brownell protesting the deportation and urging that Diaz be permitted to leave for Guatemala.

"Seamen's families learn how to spend many holidays alone," said Mrs. Diaz.

—I. K.

CALIFORNIA

8 teachers defy Dilworth law probe

CHARLES I. SASSOON, ninth grade teacher at John Muir Junior High School in Los Angeles, received two special bits of pre-Christmas mail last week, following his defiance, along with seven other public school teachers, of a Board of Education hearing into their private political beliefs.

Sassoon received a Christmas card personally signed by 22 pupils (virtually his entire graduating class at the school). It said:

"To the finest teacher we've ever had. We've had a lot of fun in your room. We will remember you always. From the Class of Winter, 1954."

In the same mail came this:

"SASSOON. You dirty Jew swine. Your kind causes all trouble in our wonderful America. Hitler was right but he should have knocked off another million instead of your dirty type trying to educate our small children against our Christian religion and constitution. We are catching up with you. Give you enough rope and you hang yourselves."

THE CHEERING 500: The hearing was a product of California's new Dilworth law setting up witch-hunts throughout the public school system, in addition to the state Levering Act under which all employed teachers already have signed elaborate loyalty oaths. Others summoned were Mrs. Anna Shugerman Connor, Mrs. June Pickman Sirell, David F. Arkin, Mrs. Minna O. Cooper, Leon Goldin, Helen Elizabeth Hughes and Mrs. Claire Sokol Kaye. All but one demanded open sessions and, before a cheering audience of 500, challenged the Dilworth law, refused to answer all probing questions.

The board likewise heard from many community organizations protesting the law, already being challenged in the courts in the firing of Clinton St. John from the science department of Orange Coast College in Costa Mesa. Among opponents of the board was the Los Angeles County Central Democratic Committee, which unanimously adopted a resolution calling for withholding of further application of the Dilworth Law pending test of its constitutionality.

WIDESPREAD PROTEST: Similar protests were lodged with the board by the Rev. A. A. Heist, chairman, Citizens Comm. to Preserve American Freedoms; Julius Kogan, Southland Jewish Organization; Mrs. Gertrude Miller, Women for Legislative Action; Mrs. Janet Stevenson, ASP Council of S. California; Dr. Eason Monroe, S. California director, ACLU; Mrs. Virginia Wilson, Citizens Comm. for Freedom in Education; L.A. Fedn. of Teachers Union.

Interlandi in Cincinnati Inquirer
"Dis guy is suspected of being a Red. What are youse gonna do about it?"

The board, confronted by a solid front of opposition, hesitated to act. They took the case of the recalcitrant eight "under advisement," and the teachers returned to their classes, where they were enthusiastically received.

"State of the Nation" opens Jan. 8 in L.A.

"STATE Of The Nation," the new Field Theater musical revue opening Jan. 8, is getting increasing support from progressive organizations all over Los Angeles. Tiba Willner, the GUARDIAN's So. California representative, listed groups which have already reserved blocs of seats for the show being sponsored by the GUARDIAN and by the Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council.

The L.A. Ind. Progressive Party has taken two entire nights at the 500-seat Armenian Center, and tickets have been taken by the **Daily Peoples World,** Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, chapters of the Civil Rights Congress, the Kinder Schules, Peace Crusade, Young Peoples Chorus, Workman's Circle, Women's Division of the L.A. Lawyers Guild, Rosenberg Committee, Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Created and performed by artists blacklisted by the Un-American Activities Comm. and by Hollywood's traditional jimcrow hiring policies, the material satirizes the Eisenhower Cadillac administration, McCarthyism, and the assorted political idiocies of the day.

Organizations are offered discounts on tickets, and may obtain further information at the ASP office, HO 7-4188, or at the So. Calif. Guardian office, WE 1-9478 and YO 5866. All tickets are $1.20 for the entire run of five week-ends, Jan. 8 through Feb. 7.

LABOR

Jencks trial Jan. 11; get-labor drive on

SPY-HUNTERS and labor-baiters were not daunted by the Christmas season of good cheer, good will and peace on earth; for them the holidays were a time for threats of worse to come.

One attack on labor was scheduled for early in the year when Clinton Jencks, leader in the southwest for the Independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, will be brought to trial on Jan. 11 on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. Jencks will be the first of several labor leaders similarly indicted to be tried. The charge was brought against Jencks less than a month after an official of the New Jersey Zinc Co.—against which Jencks had led a successful strike—told the House Labor Committee:

"We are not trying to destroy this union. . . . We are trying to give it proper leadership."

HOFFMAN BUSY: Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.) announced the day after Christmas that he plans an addition to the number of committees now investigating labor. As chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, he will seek authority to go after unions on the excuse of racketeering and misuse of welfare and insurance funds. He has already held hearings in Kansas City and Detroit, has had investigators working in Columbus, Cleveland, Indianapolis, New York, Minneapolis and Chicago.

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People in colonies

(Continued from page 1)

Korean division $15 million, and a Chiang division $5 million."

In Pakistan, latest Asian country to accept U.S. "defense aid," Nixon was expected on his visit "to complete agreement providing Pakistan with arms and the U.S. with bases there" (**NYT**, 12/14). The N.Y. **Herald Tribune**'s Homer Bigart pointed out in November that bases in Pakistan offer

> ". . . a take-off point within striking distance of Russia's atomic plants and other war installations behind the Urals . . . a point of return for strategic bombers striking at Russia across the Polar zone. . . ."

OIL AND TERROR: In the role of mediator between Iran and Britain after the nationalization of Anglo-Iranian Oil, the U.S. recently sent Herbert Hoover Jr. to Iran with a plan "for joint British-American efforts to move Iranian oil." (In 1947 Hoover's firm Hoover, Curtis & Ruby drafted for the Peruvian government a law turning over newly-discovered oilfields on highly favorable terms to U.S. companies; earlier it did a similar job in Venezuela.) Byroade went to the Bermuda conference "to consult with the British on the possible role of U.S. oil companies in a solution of the Iranian oil problem" (**NYT**, 12/4). A week later **UP** reported (12/10) that British, French and U.S. oil companies had worked out in London plans for marketing Iranian oil, to take effect after Britain and Iran reached an agreement.

What made all this possible was the "strong man" coup—which had all the earmarks of U.S. connivance—by former Nazi collaborator Gen. Zahedi against the government of Dr. Mossadegh which nationalized the oil. Mossadegh has been sentenced to three years in jail, while Zahedi suppressed popular pro-Mossadegh demonstrations with outright terror and made the Shah dissolve parliament, "abrogating the immunity of several prominent deputies" so that Zahedi could "with impunity arrest or otherwise curb" them and all opponents (**NYT**, 12/20).

MISSED THE POINT: When President Truman, to dramatize an otherwise dull inaugural address in Jan., 1949, announced his "Point Four," most Western liberals took it as evidence that the U.S. would carry out a new, benevolent policy toward backward colonial countries. The belief was that such countries would get technical aid to raise their living standards, while the export to them of U.S. private capital would be encouraged.

The reality has been a bitter disappointment. The Gray Report recommended an expenditure of $500 million, in contrast to a UN report estimating $10 billion as a minimum to raise under-developed countries' national income by 2% per year. Actual appropriation by Congress in June, 1950, was $37 million, raised by Truman to $200 million in 1951 but later considerably cut by Congress. By that time it was being admitted that since "military needs" dominated U.S. policies,

> ". . . Point Four . . . as a general and far-reaching policy, has substantially had to be deferred" (London **Times**, 9/17/51).

"IT'S NOT TRUE": In March, 1950, Secy. of State Acheson admitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the "pretty widely-held idea that we are going to build large mills, mines and factories for those underdeveloped peoples . . . [was] not true." To illustrate how Point Four really works, he told how the "comparatively trivial" investment of sending three U.S. government geologists to supply "technical aid" to Brazil "resulted in uncovering two of the largest deposits of manganese in the Western Hemisphere, of untold value." He did not mention that the "untold value" accrued to Bethlehem Steel, not to the people of Brazil. But the Brazilian example revealed Point Four as another attempted disguise for extracting raw materials from backward countries at a high profit, using U.S. taxpayers' money to facilitate it by locating the raw material and by building transportation and communications systems when necessary.

In the Intl. Development Advisory Board's report of March, 1951, chairman Nelson Rockefeller specified the fields into which U.S. investment in such countries would be channeled: minerals, rubber, petroleum, fats and oils, some basic fibers; it frankly stated that such investment was "for expanding the base of available raw materials." In Oct., 1952, the Marshall Plan Council recommended a $3-4 billion annual U.S. capital investment abroad "which would go mainly to underdeveloped regions producing or capable of producing raw materials" (**NYT**, 10/20/52). Last month the Eisenhower Administration tied up Point Four with its military program, incorporating it into the Mutual Security Agency.

THE PIPE-DREAM: In an ecstatic passage, **Business Week** (10/31) visualized the world as America's happy hunting ground as well as playground within the next 25 years, during which the U.S. would invest $5 billion annually abroad and draw from abroad $20 billion worth of raw materials:

> "Every businessman and every school boy will be acquainted with exotic new names. We'll talk knowingly of copper from Entebbe and Mufulira, of manganese from Amapa and Accra, of zinc from Perth and Bibao and Monterrey, of tungsten from O'okiep and Oruro . . . of oil from Kuwait and Maracaibo. . . .
>
> "Americans will take longer vacations . . . follow the sun all the way for midsummer lolling on the beaches of Montevideo and Sydney. . . . A fashionable place to spend Christmas holidays may be the N. African Riviera. . . . These vacationers in new resort areas won't have to rough it. They'll find the American standard of accommodations in every resort—in fact, most of the big hotels in the newer developments will be built and operated by familiar U.S. hotel chains. . . . And it's a safe bet that most natives on the tourist route will speak good Americanese."

S. Korea's Syngman Rhee was apparently getting on the ground early, according to a report last month by Rep. Charles Brownson (R-Ind.) that Rhee was building with U.S. financial aid

> ". . . a second-rate, first-class hotel . . . complete with bars, cocktail lounges, garden rooms, a starlight room and a Western steak restaurant . . . a super-highway, motel chains and big radio transmitters instead of [supplying] the bread-and butter needs of his . . . hungry, freezing population" (**NYT**, 12/21).

THE REALITY: Of such stuff—with "natives" in all manner of submissive roles from nose-fluting to tending bar to digging raw materials out of their earth for U.S. factories at pittance wages—is made the new American dream. Reporting on his travels through the wreckage of one Asian and three European empires, Vice-President Nixon showed he had learned nothing about the hunger of the "natives" for real independence, which mocks any possibility that the dream might come true.

For today, while pro-U.S. governments in "junior partner" countries get increasingly shaky, even backward-country governments friendly to U.S. big business must make unfriendly noises to maintain their rule. Brazil's President Vargas, accusing U.S.-Canadian companies of taking "wealth out of Brazil" and sabotaging his national electrification plans, has warned them they "face expropriation if they stand in the way" of his projects (**AP**, 12/23). The "communist" bogey is not working; attempts to condemn Guatemala as "communist," reported **NYT** from Mexico (12/23), "outrage" Latin Americans who believe

> ". . . U.S. interests grew fat too long on their suffering. They see Guatemalan leaders as men trying to defend their own people's interest against voracious landowners, and foreigners. . . ."

Washington's negotiations for a military footing in Pakistan are "passionately assailed" by India's Premier Nehru "as a step leading to [revival of] the colonial spirit in Asia"; he has accepted Ceylon Premier Kotelawala's suggestion "for a meeting of Asian Prime Ministers to consider . . . 'this dangerous step'" (**NYT**, 12/23).

The emptiness of the dream emerges simply in the slogan under which Nehru's Congress Party called for mass demonstrations against U.S. maneuvers in Pakistan: "Hands off Asia."

★

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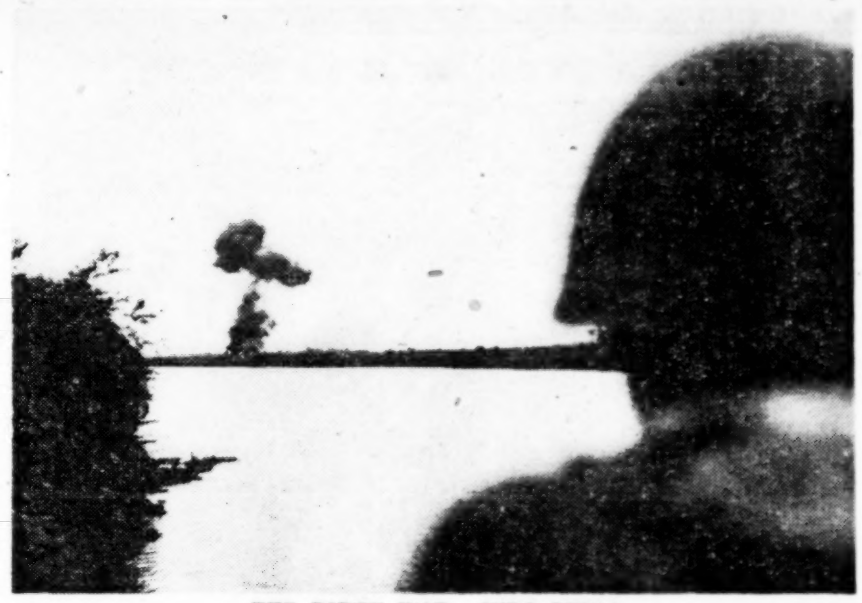

THE DIRTY WAR — INDO-CHINA
The French "clean out" a Tonkin Delta area with napalm

Force and violence

"Once upon a time a delegation of Filipinos, visiting Dr. Sun Yat-sen [first President of the Chinese Republic], asked the question: "How soon do you think the U.S. will grant us independence?" Dr. Sun is reported to have answered: "How large is your army?"

"Current world events in Guiana, Kenya, Malaya, Indo-China, and the Philippines support Sun's observation. In the western world, law and order are respected so long as they support property and privilege. Beyond that point, the power-wielders employ force and violence as a matter of course."

—Scott Nearing in
Monthly Review, Dec., 1953.

"There is no trace in all history of peoples liberated by other peoples for love of humanity."

—From message of jailed leader Messali Hadj to 1953 convention of Algeria's (anti-Communist) Independence movement.

Lady Liberty—rear view

S. Africa's progressive weekly, **Advance**, described (11/12) the experiences of Norwood Coaker, a "widely known and respected" white S. African businessman from Ladybrand. Neither a Nationalist nor a left-winger, Coaker sympathizes with the African people and thought he might "do good if he went . . . and talked to people in UN about the position of the Africans in S. Africa." On arrival in New York, with a U.S. visa, he was taken to Ellis Island by Immigration authorities, who had been notified from S. Africa that a man with dangerous opinions was on his way.

After six weeks of "frantic efforts to secure his own liberation," Coaker was released on condition that he make no further attempts to enter the U.S. "He is back in Ladybrand, deeply shocked by his experiences, and no doubt pondering the soundness of the American concepts of freedom and justice."

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CALENDAR

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THE MARXIST QUARTERLY, first number just out. Editor: Emile Burns. Editorial Board includes Maurice Cornforth, John Gollan, James Klugman and others. Annual subscription, opst free, $1.75. Single copies, 50 cents. P. Carter, 51, Willesden Lane, London, N.W. 6, England.

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BOOKS

3 new works on China by an English dean, an Australian reporter and a Canadian missionary

By Ione Kramer

THERE is so much progress in China that each of three recent books dealing with the same time, same people, is a book you can't put down. **China's New Creative Age***, by the Dean of Canterbury, is the most concise and interpretative survey of technical-social-economic progress and future plans, with maps and index. **China's Feet Unbound****, by Australian W. G. Burchett, one of the world's best reporters, reads like a story book crammed with sharp, colorful sketches of the dock workers, peasants, Huai River Project laborers whom he met in 1951—of their new life contrasted with the almost incredible oppression of the old.

"OBJECTIVE ACHIEVED": Especially pertinent for church people is Mrs. Endicott's warm and personal **Five Stars Over China*****, enriched by talks with her many friends from 22 years as a United Church of Canada missionary in China, including Chinese Christian leaders well-known in the U. S.

"The primary objective of missionaries in China has been achieved—namely the founding of a Chinese church," comments Dr. Y. T. Wu, non-Communist member of the government's Political Council. One of the biggest disappointments to Chinese Christians, and part of the reason for their final break, says Mrs. Endicott, was the failure of U. S. churches to take a firmer stand against the Korean War.

Eagerly listening teen-age boys out of the corner of whose jackets poked the glittering shafts of fountain pens.

Drawing by Nowell Johnson
"China's New Creative Age."

PSALMIST'S VISION: The revolution was an eye-opener for many of the U. S.-trained Chinese Mrs. Endicott knew. "We were not conscious of what our peasants and workers needed because we did not know them," comented Dr. Wu Li-fang, first woman vice-pres. of Ginling (Nanking) Univ. Non-Communist but a supporter of the new government, she describes the "san fan" anti-corruption campaign in terms of the psalmist's "Create in me . . . a clean heart, restore unto me a right spirit."

Dean Johnson documents more fully the way the church was used—often unwittingly by individual well-meaning missionaries—as "a cultural spearhead for political and economic invasion"; but now, "while the Communists do not believe in religion, the government takes the stand that if religion serves the people and is not against the people, it . . . should be regarded as a full member of the united front in building new China."

THE HUNGRY FILLED: All the authors agree that China's women have made the most striking advances. "At one bound," writes the Dean, they "leaped out of a degradation unknown here [Britain] . . . into a freedom as yet unattained even here." The new "enthusiasm and vitality generated by the recognition of women as equal and important members of society," comments one of Mrs. Endicott's friends, has conquered what is still an uphill pull here, bringing large numbers of women into heavy industry (like the famous Intl. Women's Day train between Dairen and Port Arthur, staffed entirely by women). Mrs. Endicott writes:

"We saw human nature transformed. . . . The peasants and workers are changing from dull-eyed drudges into alert, confident citizens who can look forward to an abundant life. To see them is to be reminded of the Song of Mary: 'He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath sent empty away.'"

**CHINA'S NEW CREATIVE AGE, by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. Intl. Publishers, 381 4th Av., N.Y.C. 16. 192 pp., paper $1.50, cloth $2.50.*

***CHINA'S FEET UNBOUND, by W. G. Burchett. World Unity Publications, 360 Collins St., Melbourne, Australia. (Available from Imported Pub. & Prod., 22 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3.) 190 pp., $1.50.*

****FIVE STARS OVER CHINA, by Mary Austin Endicott. Canadian Far East Newsletter, 134 Glenholme Av., Toronto, Canada. 464 pp., $2.*

VINDICTIVENESS INC.

Govt. starts 5th assault on Bridges

IN the last 20 years the U. S. government has made four separate and drawn-out efforts to jail or deport (or both) Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union. Each time it has been defeated; its fourth attempt collapsed last June, when the Supreme Court reversed a conviction on a charge that Bridges lied in denying Communist Party membership when he became a citizen in 1945.

Recently the government has embarked on a fifth attempt. Government attorneys in San Francisco, acting on telephoned instructions from Washington, successfully blocked dismissal of a civil complaint against Bridges which has lain dormant since it was first filed on May 25, 1949. They announced it will be actively prosecuted. The civil suit is based on the same charges used in the case reversed by the Supreme Court.

"DREDGED-UP WITNESSES": The new action against Bridges came within a week of the close of six-day hearings in San Francisco by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Two star Un-AAC informers identified Bridges as a Communist; they were promptly questioned by Immigration agents, and the announcement of a new prosecution followed. Said Bridges:

"Our union is well aware that its enemies, especially self-seeking politicians in government, have been prepared again to dredge up witnesses who will dutifully testify to anything as desired or instructed. This is the era of the professional informer and witness who will perform against anybody. The union will be prepared to meet another trial and possibly a third Supreme Court test of the same issue."

Attorney Vincent Hallinan, who defended Bridges in his last trial, served a six-month term for contempt arising from the case; he is now about to serve 18 months on tax-evasion charges.

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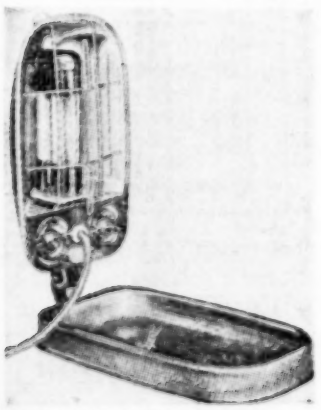

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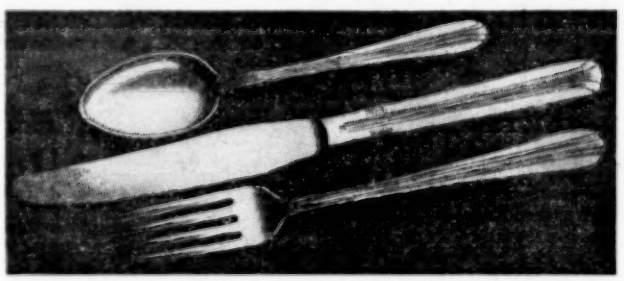
Ultra violet and infra-red lamp. AC or DC. Electro-polished aluminum with enameled base. Six foot cords calibrated in feet to help user determine proper distance. Shipping wgt. 5 lbs.
List Price $17.95 Guard. Price $13.95

Original All-Luminum FOLD-A-WAY TABLE
Shipped Express
List Price Guard. Price
2 ft. x 5 ft. size $21.95 $16.45

USE THE FOLD-A-WAY AS:
- Extra Dining Table
- Card and Game Table
- Buffet Table
- Picnic and Camping Table
- Playroom Table
- Sewing and Work Table
- Counter and Display Table

The most useful, practical all-purpose table you've ever seen . . . for kitchen, dining room, playroom . . . office, store or workshop! The Fold-A-Way weighs only 13 pounds . . . supports over 800 pounds . . . Opens easily to full-size 2'x5' top . . . folds quickly to carry like luggage, or for easy storage in car trunk or closet! Sturdily made of heavy-duty airplane aluminum . . . reinforced with steel for added strength! Order yours today . . . while they last!

WRITE FOR FREE EIGHT-PAGE BUYING SERVICE CATALOG



INTERNATIONAL SILVER STAINLESS STEEL "EMPIRE" MODEL
Rated best by independent consumer research organization. 24 piece service for 6. Includes 6 serrated knives, 6 forks, 6 teaspoons, 6 tablespoons. Shipping wgt. 4 lbs.
List Price $13.50 Guard. Price $10.35

Same set with hollow handles. Shipping wgt. 4 lbs.
List Price $19.50 Guard. Price $14.95

1/3 off on Name Brand Silverplate

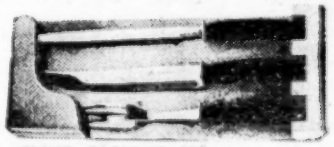
COMMUNITY SILVERPLATE.
52 pc. service for 8. Patterns: Coronation, Morning Star, Evening Star, White Orchid, Lady Hamilton. Shipped express.
List Price $79.75 Guard. Price $53.17

76 pc. service for 12. Same as above.
List Price $117.50 Guard. Price $78.99

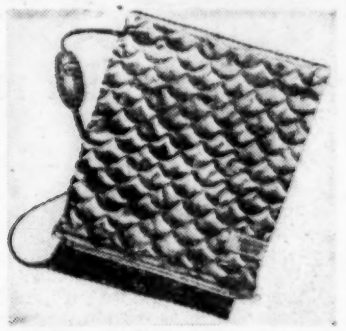
1847 ROGERS SILVERPLATE.
52 pc. service for 8. Patterns: Daffodil, Remembrance, First Love, Eternally Yours. Shipped express.
List Price $79.75 Guard. Price $53.50

List Price $116.75 Guard. Price $77.85
76 pc. service for 12. Same as above.

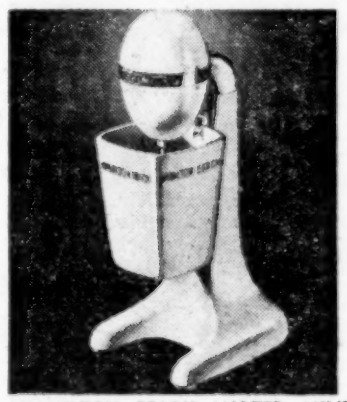
MIMAR COMBINATION FAN HEATER
No. MP 300. Top rated by an independent consumer research org. As a heater, delivers 500 cubic ft./minute of comforting warmth. Flip switch to "cooling" and silent 10" dynamic fan delivers 1,040 cubic ft./minute. Adjustable in all directions. Shipped express.
List Price $32.00 Guard. Price $24.95



FLINT CARVING SET
3 pc. set. Includes: 9" knife, 10⅞" fork and 13" honing steel. Black molded handles—stag style. Shipping wgt. 4 lbs.
List Price $9.95 Guard. Price $7.50



CASCO HEATING PAD.
Rated superior by an independent consumer research organization. Wetproof. Three fixed heats. Nite light. Shipping wgt. 3 lbs.
List Price $8.95 Guard. Price $6.75



HAMILTON BEACH MALTED MILK MACHINE.
Home type—but just like store model. Makes malteds and milk shakes. Mixes drinks. Shipping wgt. 9 lbs.
List Price $22.50 Guard. Price $17.95

Heavy Duty 17 Jewel Watches For Men and Women

GUARANTEED FOR ONE YEAR
against defects in manufacture and workmanship
All purpose watches, sturdily constructed to withstand wear and tear of everyday use. Guaranteed 17-Jewel Swiss movement in chrome steel case. Water resistant—shockproof—anti-magnetic—radium dial—sweep second hand—stainless steel back—genuine cowhide strap. Packed in handsome leatherette box.

MAN'S WATCH: Sells regularly for $39.95.....ppd. **$19.95** plus 10% Fed. tax

WOMAN'S WATCH: Sells regularly for $49.95.....ppd. **$23.95** plus 10% Fed. tax

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	POSTAGE	
	TOTAL	

(N. Y. C. buyers add 3% Sales Tax)

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Address .....

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PARCEL POST RATES

Please determine postage from chart below and add to item cost. Shipping weights are noted with each item. Distances in chart are from New York City. "Local" refers to Manh. & Bronx only. Other boros Zone 1 & 2.

WEIGHT IN LBS. OVER 8 OZ. TO	Local	1 & 2 Up to 150 Miles	3 150 to 300 Miles	4 300 to 600 Miles	5 600 to 1,000 Miles	6 1,000 to 1,400 Miles	7 1,400 to 1,800 Miles	8 Over 1,800 Miles
1	$0.18	$0.23	$0.23	$0.24	$0.26	$0.28	$0.30	$0.32
2	.20	.27	.29	.31	.36	.40	.46	.51
3	.21	.31	.34	.38	.45	.52	.61	.69
4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
18	.43	.91	1.11	1.42	1.84	2.32	2.89	3.39
19	.45	.95	1.16	1.49	1.93	2.44	3.04	3.57
20	.46	.99	1.21	1.56	2.02	2.56	3.19	3.75